

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 12987

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, SF, RH, WA, PO, PU, UK

SUBJECT: ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES SOUTHERN
AFRICA

1. IN OCTOBER 3 ADDRESS TO JOINT LUNCH-TIME MEETING OF
ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY, ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY AND
ZAMBIA SOCIETY, ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER VERNON MWAANGA
OUTLINED ZAMBIA'S VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AF-
RICA, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TERRITORIES STILL UN-
DER PORTUGUESE RULE, RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTHERN AFRI-
CA. FOLLOWING ARE VERBATIM EXTRACTS OF PRINCIPAL POINTS.
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2. TERRITORIES STILL UNDER PORTUGUESE RULE. "THE FALL, LAST APRIL, OF THE CAETANO REGIME...HAS USHERED IN AN ERA OF REALISM AND FORESIGHT IN PORTUGAL...WE HAVE ALREADY CALLED ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN PORTUGAL TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO ANGOLA AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OUR CALL WILL NOT BE HEED...THE MAGNITUDE AND COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NEW STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND THE EMERGING NATIONS OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA CAN ONLY BE DESCRIBED AS STAGGERING...CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE NEGLECT HAVE LEFT THE MASSES OF THESE COUNTRIES IMPOVERISHED. GIVEN THIS UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF AFFAIRS, DEVELOPMENT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ACCORDED THE HIGHEST PRIORITY IN THE PROGRAMMES OF ACTION OF THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BIAU AND THE EMERGING NATIONS OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA. WE BELIEVE...IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RENDER ALL POSSIBLE MATERIAL SUPPORT TO THESE COUNTRIES WHICH WILL TAKE SOMETIME TO RECOVER FROM THE RAVAGES OF LONG AND COSTLY WARS WHICH WERE FORCED ON THEM BY PAST PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENTS. WE BELIEVE THAT COUNTRIES WITH A GREATER FLEXIBILITY, IN TERMS OF DEVELOPMENT RESOURCES AND KNOW-HOW, SHOULD ANNOUNCE THEIR READINESS TO RENDER GENEROUS ASSISTANCE TO THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA...LET ME SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT BRIEFLY ON THE RECENT CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN PORTUGAL DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS LEADING TO THE RESIGNATION FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE PORTUGUESE STATE OF GENERAL SPINOLA AND THE ACCESSION TO POWER OF GENERAL FRANCISCO COSTA GOMES...IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT THE DUE PROCESS OF INDEPENDENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA IS IRRESISTABLE AND THAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN LISBON IS AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF THE BALANCE OF POWER WHICH EXISTS IN THAT COUNTRY AT THE PRESENT MOMENT."

3. ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA). "IN ZIMBABWE...THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE MINORITY TO THE MAJORITY APPEAR REMOTE. DENIED EVERY AVENUE OF PEACEFUL EXPRESSION, THE MASSES IN ZIMBABWE HAVE GRADUALLY COME TO THE INEVITABLE CONCLUSION THAT IN ARMED STRUGGLE LIES

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THEIR SALVATION. WE, IN ZAMBIA,...BELIEVE THAT AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE, DENIED EVERY AVENUE OF PEACEFUL CHANGE, AS IS THE CASE IN ZIMBABWE TODAY, ARE MORALLY JUSTIFIED TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THOSE WHO PERPETRATE MONSTROUS CRIMES AGAINST THEM...WE IN ZAMBIA BELIEVE THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR BRITAIN TO CONFINE HERSELF TO VERBAL REAFFIRMATIONS OF HER GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY IN ZIMBABWE. THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY EXPECT BRITAIN TO

TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO PAVE THE WAY FOR MAJORITY RULE
IN THEIR COUNTRY. IN THIS CONNECTION...THERE IS URGENT
NEED FOR BRITAIN TO CONVENE A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE,
UNDER HER CHAIRMANSHIP, TO WORK OUT THE MODALITIES OF THE

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TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE MINORITY TO THE MAJORITY.
IAN SMITH AND HIS COHORTS MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND
THAT THEY DO NOT STAND A CHANCE OF WINNING MILITARILY IN
THE MOUNTING CONFRONTATION WITH THE LIBERATION MOVE-
MENTS...THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS A VITAL ROLE TO

PLAY IN HASTENING CHANGE IN ZIMBABWE...WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, PARTICULARLY THOSE RELATING TO ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, COULD EASILY HAVE HAD A TELLING EFFECT ON THE RACISTS. WITHOUT EXTERNAL SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY FROM SOUTH AFRICA, REBEL RHODESIA CANNOT WITHSTAND THE ONSLAUGHTS OF THE NATIONALIST PRESSURE."

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4. NAMIBIA. "UNDER THE WISE AND ABLE LEADERSHIPS OF SWAPO - THE LEGITIMATE AND AUTHENTIC VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA - RESISTANCE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION HAS BEEN GIVEN A NEW DIRECTION AND IMPETUS...THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO KICK SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF NAMIBIA...IN A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO HOODWINK WORLD PUBLIC OPINION INTO BELIEVING THAT HER INTENTIONS IN NAMIBIA ARE HONOURABLE, SOUTH AFRICA IS NOW FLOATING THE IDEA OF A MEETING OF ALL RACES TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF THAT INTERNATIONAL TERRITORY. THIS IS A DIVERSIONARY TACTIC WHICH SHOULD BE DISMISSED WITH THE CONTEMPT IT DESERVES. IF SOUTH AFRICA MEANS WELL, SHE SHOULD HONOUR VARIOUS UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS ON NAMIBIA."

5. SOUTH AFRICA. "MR. CHAIRMAN, SOUTH AFRICA IS, WITHOUT DOUBT, THE MAJOR OBSTACLE TO THE PEACE AND TRANQUILITY OF THE WHOLE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION. SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY SUPPORT FOR IAN SMITH IS A FACTOR IN THE REBEL REGIME'S RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT THE INEVITABILITY OF MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE...WE BELIEVE...THAT MEN OF GOODWILL EVERYWHERE SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE OPPRESSED IN SOUTH AFRICA."

6. PROSPECTS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. "MR. CHAIRMAN, HARDLY SIX MONTHS AGO, THE PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA LOOKED LESS ENCOURAGING THAN THEY ARE TODAY...TODAY, IN MOZAMBIQUE, THE ATMOSPHERE IS ONE OF JUSTIFIABLE OPTIMISM...IN ANGOLA, THE SITUATION HAS ALSO VASTLY CHANGED SINCE APRIL THIS YEAR. GIVEN THE COMMITMENT BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN PORTUGAL TO DISENGAGE QUICKLY FROM AFRICA, ANGOLA, SHOULD ALSO BE INDEPENDENT IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE...THE SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA PRESENTS A LESS OPTIMISTIC PICTURE. IN THESE COUNTRIES, WHICH TODAY REMAIN AS THE CITADELS OF OPPRESSION AND RACISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE SITUATION IS LIKELY TO GET WORSE BEFORE IT GETS BETTER...EVEN IN THESE COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, THERE IS ROOM FOR CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM. THE INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THESE COUNTRIES, COUPLED WITH EXTERNAL PRESSURES, SHOULD BEGIN TO HAVE A DISCERNABLE EF-

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FECT ON THOSE OPPRESSIVE REGIMES...MR. CHAIRMAN, I HAVE A VISION OF A SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH IS TRULY FREE AND INDEPENDENT SOONER THAN THE RACISTS ARE PREPARED TO ADMIT... THE NEW WIND OF CHANGE OF 1974 IS AN AVALANCHE WHICH WILL LEAVE NO STONE OF POLITICAL FILTH AND OPPRESSION UNTURNED."

7. IN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS AFTER HIS ADDRESS, MWAANGA TOUCHED ON VARIETY OF SUBJECTS. HE CHARACTERIZED ZAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH UK "AS SLOWLY BEGINNING TO IMPROVE," AND NOTED THAT RELATIONS WITH PRESENT LABOR GOVERNMENT UNDOUBTEDLY BETTER THAN WITH PREVIOUS CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THEY WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE WITH WHATEVER GOVERNMENT WINS OCTOBER 10 ELECTION. MWAANGA ALSO CRITICIZED BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR TREATING IAN SMITH AS IF HE WERE ONLY FACTOR IN RHODESIAN EQUATION, AND INSISTED LIBERATION MOVEMENT LEADERS, IMPRISONED BLACK RHODESIAN LEADERS AND ANC ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT FACTORS IN SOLVING RHODESIAN PROBLEM. HE ALSO CLAIMED THAT IF SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT WERE WITHDRAWN FROM RHODESIA, SMITH WOULD BECOME MORE WILLING TO TALK WITH BRITISH AND AFRICANS. HE NOTED THAT ZAMBIANS HAVE SUBMITTED DETAILED PROPOSALS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IN CONFIDENCE TO HMG, AND EXPRESSED HOPE HMG WOULD BECOME LESS PASSIVE AND MORE POSITIVE IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA AS RESULT OF CURRENT REVIEW OF BRITISH-SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY. CONCERNING NEW MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT AND SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA, MWAANGA SAID ZAMBIA WANTS TO GIVE FRELIMO TIME TO EXAMINE VARIOUS PAST AGREEMENTS BEFORE MAKING PRO- NOUNCEMENTS ON SANCTIONS. ZAMBIA HOPES THAT WHEN MOZAMBIQUE BECOMES INDEPENDENT UNDER FRELIMO GOVERNMENT, THEY

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WILL IMPOSE SANCTIONS.

8. IN DEALING WITH QUESTIONS CONCERNING EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM UN, ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SAID INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN NO LONGER BE SATISFIED WITH WARNING SOUTH AFRICA, AND AFRICANS AFTER MOGADISCIO MEETING OF OAU NO LONGER WILLING TO LIMIT THEMSELVES TO POLITE HARASSMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA IN UN, AND HENCE WILL CALL FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S EXPULSION FROM WORLD BODY. ON NAMIBIA HE SAID HE WISHES HE COULD SHARE REPORTED OPTIMISM OF UN COMMISSIONER MCBRIDE THAT NAMIBIA WILL BE FREE WITHIN ONE YEAR, BUT THAT ONE MUST DRAW DISTINCTION BETWEEN UNCLASSIFIED

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WHAT WANTS TO SEE HAPPEN AND WHAT IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN. AS FOR PRACTICAL MEASURES TO GET SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF NAMIBIA, MWAANGA SAID THAT GIVEN DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE AND INCREASING ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME CAN DO SOMETHING POSITIVE ITSELF TO GET OUT. IF SOUTH AFRICA IS INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATING A SETTLEMENT, ZAMBIA IS PREPARED TO HELP AND WOULD INVITE REPRESENTATIVES FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND FROM SWAPO TO COME TO LUSAKA AND NEGOTIATE. IF SOUTH AFRICA UNWILLING TO

NEGOTIATE, THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE.

9. AS FOR PROSPECT OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH MALAWI, MWAANGA SAID ZAMBIA "CERTAINLY WOULD LIKE TO" AND ADDED KAUNDA VISIT TO MALAWI IN MAY OPENED NEW CHAPTER OF CO-OPERATION.

10. IN ANSWERING ANOTHER QUESTION ON PROBLEMS CREATED BY RISE IN OIL PRICES, FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENTED HE DID NOT DISPUTE THE RIGHT OF PRODUCER COUNTRIES TO DEMAND "FAIR" PRICES FOR NON-RENEWABLE RESOURCES, HOWEVER, PRODUCERS SHOULD TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THEIR PEOPLE'S NEEDS AND ABILITIES. HE NOTED THAT IF ZAMBIA AND OTHER PRODUCERS OF RAW MATERIALS ALL RAISED PRICES LIKE THE OIL PRODUCERS, THERE WOULD BE ECONOMIC ANARCHY.

11. FINALLY, ON THE PROSPECTS OF UNITY FOR THE ANGOLAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, MWAANGA SAID AFRICANS WANT MPLA AND FNLA (HE DID NOT MENTION UNITA) TO UNITE AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CHANGING CONDITIONS IN PORTUGAL. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT A TRUCE HAD BEEN WORKED OUT AT MEETING OF PRESIDENTS OF ZAMBIA, ZAIRE AND TANZANIA LAST WEEK END AND A COMMON FRONT WOULD BE FORMED.

12. TEXT BEING POUCHED LUSAKA AND AF/E, DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

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